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ABSTRACT

Unofficial estimates suggest that there are a quarter million people of East Indian origin in the United States. This paper focuses on the attitudes of these overseas Indians toward public policy priorities in India. A sample of 1129 people of East Indian origin listed in an ethnic biographical dictionary were mailed a 96-item comprehensive questionnaire. A total of 213 usable questionnaires indicating high, medium, and low priority for specific areas were returned. Tentative conclusions reported include: (1) most overseas Indians do not accord high priority to policy areas relating to freedom of the press and human rights--population control, food production, energy resources, and poverty eradication are of greater concern: (2) the controversial nuclear energy development policy of the Indian government has a very low priority: (3) partisan support among the overseas Indians seems to be associated with their attitudes toward policy priorities in certain areas, but caste origin is clearly a significant correlate. (Author/RLV)

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ATTITUDES OF OVERSEAS INDIANS IN THE USA TOWARD THE EMERGENCY AND JANATA PARTY POLICIES: SOME EMPIRICAL FINDINGS*

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I

OVERSEAS INDIAN POLITICAL CULTURE

The early migration of the Indians to the British colonies began as indentured labor.[1] Historical studies have documented certain generalizing patterns in the migration of Indians.[2] The Indians have settled in many parts of the world. The study of the sub-cultures of the Overseas Indian communities has attracted the attention of many scholars.[3] A rather interesting behavioral phenomena has been observed among the diverse Overseas Indian communities. The Overseas Indians continue to show serious interest in the affairs of their mother country--India.[4] The level of such interest in the "Indian Affairs" is of course likely to vary with the nature of the Indian community. The inter-generational variations are also likely to emerge in this context. In general, the first generation immigrants probably maintain a rather high level of intent in Indian and Indian politics. The present study is about the Indian community in the United States. In a sense, the Overseas Indian community in the United States is somewhat different from most other Overseas Indian communities.[5]

The unofficial estimates suggest that there are a quarter million people of Indian origin in the United States.[6] The migration of people from the Indian sub-continent began as early as

the year 1899.[7] As a consequence of nationality quota immigration policy the actual size of the Overseas Indian population in the United States was rather small.[8] The immigration law of 1965 brought about significant changes in this situation.[9] The Overseas Indians constitute a sizeable minority in the population of the United States. The post-1965 immigrants to the United States tend to be somewhat different from the "early Indian immigrants" to America.[10] Most of these early immigrants came from rural and agricultural background and had limited educational preparation to cope with the western culture.[11] On the other hand, most new immigrants come from urban India with western education. Elite occupations like medicine, dentistry, engineering, college training, journalism and science are well represented among such immigrants. Given such background of the Indian immigrants in the United States the political sub-culture of these people seems an interesting area for political science research.[12]

"Political Culture" of a minority community has many analytical dimensions.[13] In this paper we shall merely focus our attention upon the attitudes of these Overseas Indians toward the public policy priorities in India. The policy priorities of the Indian political system have become particularly interesting to the Overseas Indians since the summer of 1975.[14] A systematic content analysis of the Indian Press in the United States suggests a number of inferences. It appears that Mrs. Gandhi's controversial policies and programs have attracted the attention of the Overseas Indians in the United States. Evaluative judgments about Mrs. Gandhi's regime have appeared in such ethnic press in the form of editorials,

feature length articles and in the form of letters to the editor.[15] Some of these writers have blamed Mrs. Gandhi's autocratic rule, which others have praised her policy performance. Mrs. Gandhi's spectacular success in the family planning program has received mixed reception. The Indian ethnic organizations in the United States have taken positions on Mrs. Gandhi's regime.[16] All these developments suggest that the public policy choice of India seem to be a significant political concern of the Indian immigrants in the United States.

The Lok Sabha elections of 1977 and the eventual rise of Janata Government in New Delhi has further accentuated the debate on public policy priorities.[17] Some Overseas Indians do not see any significant differences between the social policies of Janata Government and that of the erstwhile regime. Others see a major shift in the area of foreign policy and human rights.[18]

However, the Overseas Indians in the United States constitute a widely dispersed people. The activist Indians whose articles, letters and editorials appear in the Indian ethnic press may not be representative of the opinion of the Indian population in the United States. Some Overseas Indians had formed organizations in opposition to the Emergency regime.[19] The leader of such organizations utilized mass media to express their views. They also provided platforms to the political dissidents from India to voice their opinion about the emergency rule of Mrs. Gandhi. The Government of India reacted to such developments by impounding the passports of such Indian activities.[20] But we know very little about most other Indians and their public policy choices in

relation to India.

II

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

This paper has a limited goal of exploring the public policy priorities for India as perceived by the Overseas Indians.[21] The question of public policy choice in India is an extremely complex one. India's limited resources puts severe constraints upon its decision-makers. In the United States, India's public policy may have become a topic for barbershop cynicism. "Why should India produce an atom bomb?" "Why cannot they stop producing children?" "Why do they let the cows run around the streets while people starve?" Most Overseas Indians face such questions quite often from different quarters.

The Overseas Indian mind probably has a continuing debate on public policy choice. The question of public policy choice in certain areas may have become more intense since the emergency. Mrs. Gandhi's statistical success in population control has raised significant questions about policy priorities. Hence it appears that analysis of the policy priorities of the Indians would provide some information about the political culture of the Overseas Indian. This is the prime objective of the research reported in this paper.

During the month of March 1977, immediately after the results of Lok Sabha elections a purpose sample of 1129 people of Indian origin listed in an ethnic biographical directory were mailed a 96 item comprehensive questionnaire.[22] The scholarly nature of this research was emphasized and the addresses were provided with

a stamped reply envelope for returning the questionnaire. Follow-up letter was sent in mid-May 1977. In all 213 usable questionnaires were received by the month of July 1977. Only one questionnare was returned in December 1977.

Among other questions, the survey instrument included a series of closed ended questions on public policy priorities ties for India. The Janata Government was already in power at the time of this survey. The survey respondetns were asked to indicate high, medium, low priority against each sepcific policy area. This data has provided the basis for analysis presented in this paper.

Before examining the policy priorities of these Indians it seems pertinent to emphasize that these Indians do not represent a sample of the quarter million Indians who live in the United States. The fact that these people were listed in a biographical directory indicates their relative success in American society. The social profile of the survey respondents given in Table No. 1 also suggests a composite profile of their people.[23]

TABLE NO. 1

SOCIAL PROFILE OF THE
SURVEY RESPONDENTS

(N=213)

OCCUPATION	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS
Academic	25.7%
Engineer	16.8%
Doctor/Dentist/Veterinarian	20.6%
Scientific Worker	8.9%
Businessman	6.1%
Teacher	4.7%
Manager/Executive	4.7%
Other Occupation	6.5%
Missing Data	6.1%
TOTAL	100.0%

TABLE NO. 1 - Continued

AGE DISTRIBUTION	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS
Under 25	0.5%
25 - 30	7.5%
31 - 35	19.2%
36 - 40	29.9%
41 - 45	17.3%
46 - 50	8.9%
51 - 60	7.5%
60+	2.3%
Missing Data	7.0%
TOTAL	100.0%

SEX	
Male	88.3%
Female	5.1%
Missing Data	6.6%
TOTAL	100.0%

HOME OWNERSHIP	
Owner	63.6%
Renter	29.0%
Missing Data	7.5%
TOTAL	100.0%

FAMILY ANNUAL INCOME IN 1976	
Under $10,000	1.9%
10 - 15	7.0%
15 - 20	12.2%
20 - 25	22.0%
25 - 30	14.5%
30 - 35	21.0%
50+	16.4%
Missing Data	5.1%
TOTAL	100.0%

TABLE NO. 1 - Continued

HIGHEST EDUCATION BEFORE ENTERING UNITED STATES	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS
Some College	5.1%
Bachelor's Degree	39.7%
Master/Ph.D	25.2%
Professional Degree	22.9%
Missing Data	7.0%
TOTAL	100.0%

AMERICAN EDUCATION	
Some College	4.7%
Bachelor's Degree	4.2%
Master	32.7%
Ph.D.	28.0%
Non-Degree Training	6.5%
No American Education	11.7%
Missing Data	12.1%
TOTAL	100.0

FAVORITE AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTY	
Democrat	60.3%
Republican	10.7%
Other	3.7%
Missing Data	25.2%
TOTAL	100.0%

One way of evaluating the general involvement of our survey respondents may be looked at Table No. 2. This table suggests a number of indicators. A large majority of the survey respondents (67%) were members of Indian organizations in the United States. A surprisingly high percentage (43%) indicated they had held or were holding some sort of office in such organizations. About 27% of the respondents regularly read the overseas editions of the Indian

TABLE NO. 2

INVOLVEMENT OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS WITH
INDIA AND INDO-AMERICAN SUB-CULTURE

(N=213)
(in percentages)

OFFICE-HOLDING IN INDIAN ORGANIZATIONS	PERCENTAGE
Present/Past Office Holders	43%
Never held such office	42%
Missing Data	15%
	100%

MEMBERSHIP IN INDIAN ORGANIZATIONS	
Member	67%
Not a Member	26%
Missing Data	7%
	100%

INDIA VISIT DURING THE EMERGENCY	
Visited	48%
Did not Visit	47%
Missing Data	5%
	100%

READERSHIP OF INDIAN NEWSPAPER	
Read Overseas Editions of Indian Newspapers	27%
Read U.S. based Indian Newspapers	40%
Read Both	21%
Missing Data	12%
	100%

FAVORITE INDIAN POLITICAL PARTY	
Congress	27%
Janata	19%
Other Parties	8%
Missing Data	46%
	100%

newspapers. Nearly 40% regularly read the Indian newspapers published in the United States. Those who read these two types of papers constituted around 21% of the entire group. Only a small minority (12%) either did not read such papers or did not care to respond to this item in the survey.

The data on visit to India during the emergency also indicates that nearly half (48%) of the respondents had visited India during this period. The length of such visits varied widely from fourteen days to over a year.

In general, the indicators in Table No. 2 suggest that the survey respondents, in general, were very much involved with the Indian sub-cultures in the United States. Also, their level of interest in the India was probably high as indicated by visitation trends and newspaper readership patterns.

III

POLICY PRIORITIES: GENERAL TRENDS

The Table No. 3 provides a distribution of high policy priorities among twenty areas of public policy included in the questionnaire. The list was not designed to be an exhaustive one. It was also not designed to tap the details of public policy preference. The respondents were merely asked what priority should a specific policy area receive--high, medium, or low by the government leaders in India.

As the data in Table 3 indicates population control, food production, energy development have high priorities among the survey respondents. Certain tenets of western liberal democracy

TABLE NO. 3

PERCEPTIONS OF NATIONAL
POLICY PRIORITIES*

(Percentage of Respondents
indicating High Priorities)

POLICY AREAS	PERCENTAGES N=213	RANK ORDER
Population Control	87.8%	1
Food Production	86.9%	2
Develop Energy Sources	80.3%	3
Eradicate Political Corruption	77.9%	4
Poverty Eradication	75.1%	5
Control Black Money	66.7%	6
Price Stabilization	63.8%	7
Industrial Growth	55.4%	8
Mass Literacy	55.4%	9
Expansion of Tourist Trade	51.6%	10
Freedom of Press	46.0%	11
Reform Higher Education	44.1%	12
Balanced Regional Growth	32.9%	13
Develop Nuclear Energy	30.5%	14
Urban Renewal	28.6%	15
Improve Condition of SC/ST People	23.5%	16
Curb Police Power	21.1%	17
International Prestige	18.3%	18
Constitutional Change	18.3%	19
Regional Autonomy	12.7%	20

*Based on responses to a closed-ended questionnaire

such as "freedom of press" and "curb police power" have received much lower ranking. Also nuclear energy development. Even mass literacy has received 9th rank in this system.

In general, it appears that the Overseas Indians have given high priority to bread and butter issues. This trend is particularly significant considering the timing of this survey.

The general trends identified in Table No. 3 may not indicate

the policy preferences of the sub-population. In this section, we might consider the relevance of a few selected independent variables. For the purpose of this analysis we have chosen partisanship variable. The survey respondents were asked to indicate their favorite political party in India. As the general profile indicated all respondents did not complete this section. Hence the analysis presented here is limited to the such persons whose favorite party was identified.[24]

The Table No. 4 compares the priority ranking of the Overseas Indians based on their partisan support. With respect to the area of "Freedom of Press" there is noticeable difference between the Janata Party supporters and the others. A majority of the Janata Party supporters among the Overseas Indians surveyed (56%) accord high priority to the Freedom of Press. Only about 43% of the Congress Party supporters suggesting high priority are about equal to the other party supporters. During the emergency "Freedom of Press" was a rather controversial policy question. The trends indicated herein suggests significant partisan differences with respect to this policy area.

The Table No. 4 also shows that only a minority of the Overseas Indians suggest high priority for curbing police power in India. The emergency had brought about massive arrest and harrassment of the Indian citizens under MISA.[25] However, its priority ranking tends to be rather low. In any case a slighter higher percentage of the Janata Party supporters (30% as against 21%) suggest high priority in this policy area. It is also interesting to note a much lower proporation of other party support (13%) give

TABLE NO. 4

PARTISAN SUPPORTERS AND THEIR POLICY ORIENTATIONS IN SELECTED AREAS

POLICY AREA	PRIORITY RANKING	CONGRESS	JANATA	OTHERS	ALL RESPONDENTS*
FREEDOM OF PRESS	High	43%	56%	43%	48%
	Medium	46%	34%	43%	40%
	Low	10%	9%	12%	11%
		N=58	N=41	N=16	N=202
CURB POLICE POWER	High	21%	20%	13%	23%
	Medium	47%	52%	26%	45%
	Low	31%	17%	60%	31%
		N=57	N=40	N=15	N=193
CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE	High	10%	38%	18%	20%
	Medium	42%	33%	12%	34%
	Low	47%	28%	68%	44%
		N=57	N=39	N=16	N=192
POPULATION CONTROL	High	91%	92%	88%	92%
	Medium	7%	7%	5%	5%
	Low	1%	0%	0%	2%
		N=57	N=41	N=17	N=203

*This column also indicates the responses of non-partisans.

high priority to this area of public policy.

"Constitutional Change" is a rather broad category. In the context of the 1975-77 situation in India, constitutional questions became highly significant. The Indian and foreign experts produced numerous commentaries on the constitutional changes brought about by Mrs. Gandhi's government.[26] So, it appears constitutional change was a major public issue in India at least at the time of this survey. Only 10% of the Congress supporters among the Overseas Indians give

high priority to this area. However, a much higher proporation of the Janata Party supportes 38% give a high priority to constitutional change.

Table No. 4 also indicates a rather surprising consensus among the Overseas Indians with respect to the priority for population control. An overwhelming majority of the Congress Party supporters (91%), Janata Party supporters (92%) and other (18%) give high priority to population control. The survey instrument utilized in this survey did not probe into the administrative details of population policy. It is likely that significant differences may have emerged with respect to such questions among the Overseas Indians.

TABLE NO. 5

PARTISAN SUPPORT AND POLICY ORIENTATIONS
TOWARD SCHEDULED CASTE/TRIBE PEOPLE

PRIORITY RANKING FOR IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF SC/ST PEOPLE	CONGRESS N=47	JANATA N=38	OTHERS N=15	ALL RESPONDENTS N=170*
High	33%	23%	27%	23%
Medium	41%	50%	46%	36%
Low	25%	21%	25%	18%

*In all 20% (N=43) did not answer this question. This column also includes responses of non-partisans.

India's public policy toward its Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes has been subjected to much scholarly analysis.[27] The protective discrimination programs associated with the Scheduled

TABLE NO. 5 - Continued

CASTE ORIGIN AND POLICY ORIENTATIONS
TOWARD SCHEDULED CASTE/TRIBE PEOPLE

PRIORITY RANKING FOR IMPROVING THE CONDITIONS OF SC/ST PEOPLE	BRAHMIN N=39	NON-BRAHMIN N=96	NON-HINDU N=27	ALL RESPONDENTS N=170*
High	25%	26%	50%	23%
Medium	44%	44%	34%	36%
Low	17%	26%	0%	18%
TOTAL	86%	96%	84%	77%

*In all 20% (N=43) did not answer this question. This column also includes the responses of religious non-identified.

Caste and the Scheduled Tribe people has raised questions involving "reverse discrimination." The Overseas Indians were asked to indicate their priority ranking the area of Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribe people. Table No. 5 provides a comparative analysis of their responses. In general, only 23% of the survey respondents assigned high priority to the policy area of "Improving the Conditions of SC/ST People." This general trend may be viewed in the light of data provided in Table No. 4. Among the Brahmins the priority ranking is the lowest (25%) and slightly higher in the case of Non-Brahmins (26). But in the case of Non-Hindus the priority in this area kumps to 50%. This difference seems highly significant. The Non-Hindus may perceive the need for high priority in this case.

The Table No. 6 cross-tabulates the responses in this area in relation to partisan support. In this case, about a third of

TABLE NO. 6

PARTISAN SUPPORT AND ORIENTATIONS
TOWARD REGIONAL POLICY

POLICY AREA	PRIORITY RANKING	CONGRESS	JANATA	OTHER	ALL RESPONDENTS*
BALANCED REGIONAL GROWTH	High	27.8%	39.1%	33.9%	35%
	Medium	53.7%	47.8%	50.0%	49%
	Low	18.5%	13.0%	16.0%	14%
		N=56	N=41	N=16	N=195
REGIONAL AUTONOMY	High	13.8%	10.0%	12.5%	13%
	Medium	34.5%	40.0%	31.3%	35%
	Low	51.7%	50.0%	56.3%	50%
		N=58	N=40	N=16	N=197

*This column includes the responses of non-partisans.

the Congress supporters assign high priority to this area and about 23% of the Janata supporters do so.

The Table No. 7 provides an analysis of the policy orientations of policy. In this context, it is important to note that "balanced regional growth" and "political autonomy" of the state government have been viewed as two key questions in the Indian federal system. In general, it appears that only a minority of the survey respondents assign high priority to these two areas of policy. However, there are significant perceptible differences. Balanced regional growth seems to have a somewhat higher priority ranking than regional autonomy. Nevertheless the difference between the partisan supporters

TABLE NO. 7

PRIORITY RANKING IN HIGH
CONSENSUS POLICY AREAS

POLICY AREAS	PRIORITY RANKING	CONGRESS	JANATA	OTHERS	ALL RESPONDENTS*
FOOD PRODUCTION	High	94%	92%	87%	92%
	Medium	5%	9%	12%	7%
	Low	0%	0%	0%	0%
		N=57	N=41	N=16	N=200
POVERTY ERADICATION	High	86%	92%	58%	81%
	Medium	12%	5%	43%	15%
	Low	1%	2%	0%	3%
		N=58	N=39	N=16	N=197
POPULATION CONTROL	High	91%	92%	88%	92%
	Medium	7%	7%	5%	5%
	Low	1%	0%	0%	2%
		N=57	N=41	N=17	N=203

*This column also includes the responses of non-partisans.

is also interesting to observe.

The Table No. 7 provides a comparative analysis of the priority ranking of the Overseas Indians with respect to what we have viewed as "high consensus" policy areas--Food Production, Poverty Eradication and Population Control. The data in Table No. 6 indicates very little difference among the survey respondents based on their partisan

identification.

It is particularly interesting to note that in the area of population control no significant difference exist between the Janata Congress Party supporters.

India's nuclear policy has created world controversy.[28] The western world has questioned its nuclear program. The Table No. 8 provides a comparative view of the Overseas Indians toward India's nuclear policy. In general only about 28% of the survey respondents assigned high priority to nuclear development.

TABLE NO. 8

PARTISAN SUPPORT AND
NUCLEAR POLICY PRIORITY

PRIORITY RANKING FOR NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES	CONGRESS N=56	JANATA N=40	OTHERS N=16	ALL RESPONDENTS* N=194
High	40%	25%	31%	33%
Medium	32%	45%	50%	34%
Low	28%	30%	18%	32%

*This column also includes the responses of non-partisans.

Partisan differences are significant here. About 40% of the Congress supporters assign high priority to nuclear capability of India. This drops to about 25% in the case of Janata supporters and rises to about 31% in the case of the others. Mrs. Gandhi's regime had openly pursued an aggressive policy involving the nuclear capability of India. The higher level of support for nuclear development among the Congress supporters may be explained in the

light of such policy position.

"Price Stabilization" and controlling "Black Money Circulation" are two other key areas of public policy in India: Table 9 provides a comparative analysis of these two areas. In general a great majority of the Overseas Indians (over 65%) consider these two as high priority policy areas. The Janata supporters seem more supportive of high priority in the area of Black Money Circulation.[29] This is also the case with Price Stabilization.

TABLE NO. 9

PARTISAN SUPPORT AND POLICY PRIORITIES
TOWARD BLACK MONEY AND PRICE STABILIZATION

(in percentages)

POLICY AREA	PRIORITY RANKING	CONGRESS	JANATA	OTHERS	ALL RESPONDENTS*
CONTROL BLACK MONEY CIRCULATION	High	70.7%	73.2%	75.0%	70%
	Medium	27.6%	19.5%	18.8%	24%
	Low	1.7%	7.3%	6.3%	5%
		N=58	N=41	N=16	N=202
PRICE STABILIZATION	High	65.5%	70.7%	64.3%	68%
	Medium	32.8%	26.8%	35.7%	29%
	Low	1.0%	1.0%	0%	2%
		N=58	N=41	N=14	N=199

*This column also includes the responses of non-partisans.

IV

PUBLIC POLICY PRIORITIES OF OVERSEAS INDIANS: SOME TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

The data presented in this paper has several limitations. The survey did not constitute a representative sample of the Overseas Indian population in the United States. Nevertheless, the social profile of the survey respondents suggests that they closely reflect the "new immigrant" population from India. A number of tentative conclusions may be derived about the public policy priorities of the Overseas Indians.

Firstly, it appears that most Overseas Indians surveyed do not seem to accord high priority to policy areas relating to "Freedom of Press" and "human rights." These priorities seem to rank far below other concerns like population control, food production, energy resources and poverty eradication. Considering the fact that these matters seemed highly significant during the Indian emergency, their low priorities among the Overseas Indians population is rather intriguing!

Secondly, there seems to be an overwhelming consensus among the Overseas Indian respondents about certain policy areas, e.g., Population Control, Food Production, Energy Development. Political Corruption and Black Money Circulation are also other significant concerns of the respondents.

Thirdly, the controversial nuclear energy development policy of the Indian Government seems to have a very low priority. Considering the educational background of the survey respondents it

is plausible to suggest that they may perceive some problems.

Fourthly, it appears that the partisan support among the Overseas Indians seems to be associated with their attitudes toward policy priorities in certain areas. But Caste origin is clearly a significant correlate in relation to the policy priorities involving the SC/ST population.

Finally, there is a larger conceptual question that arises from the data presented in this paper. There is adequate indication in this paper to suggest that the survey respondents have considerable interest in the affairs of India. There are reasons to believe that a more representative sample survey of Overseas Indians in the United States would probably identify a somewhat similar trend. Do these trends imply minimal involvement and concern of the Overseas Indians with the public policies of the United States? The answer to this question is not affirmative. These survey respondents do have significant concern for the American public policies. As the analysis elsewhere indicates, they have rather definitive views on public policy choice in the United States.[30] The maintenance of sustained interest in the public policy of India has probably not influenced their involvement in the affairs of American society.

There are tentative conclusions. A comprehensive study of the Overseas Indians in diverse American communities is needed to derive significant inferences about the policy priorities of a representative sample of the Overseas Indians. Considering the dispersed nature of the Indian community perhaps collaborative effort of the social scientists of Indian origin may be the answer to this problem.

FOOTNOTES

1
I. M. Cumpton, Indians Overseas (London: Dawson, 1969).

2
N. Ganguli, Indians in the Empire Overseas (London: New India Publications, 1974; Dwarka Nath, A History of Indians in British Guiana (London: Thomas Nelson, 1950); Kodanda Rao, "Indians Overseas," Annals of the American Acedemy of Political and Social Science, May 1944, pp. 200-207; C. Kondapi, Indians Overseas 1839-1949 (London: Oxford University Press, 1951).

3
Some selected studies on Overseas Indians include the following: S. Arasaratnam, Indians in Malayasia and Singapore, (London: 1970); Aghedanand Bharati, The Asians in East Africa. Jaihind and Uhurh, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972); N. R. Chatkravarty, The Indian Minority in Bhima: The Rise and Decline of an Immigrant Minority, (London: Oxford, 1971); Ravindra K. Jain, South Indians on the Plantation Frontiers in Malaya, (New Haven: Yale, 1970); Adrian Mayer, Peasants in the Pacific: Fiji Indian Society, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972); Kannaur Chandras, Racial Discrimination in Canada, (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1976); Michael Twaddle (ed.), Expulsion of a Minority: Fssays on Ugandan Asians, (London: Athlom, 1975); Nasser-bushi Nehrum, "Differential Adjustment between Two Indian Immigrant Communities in Toronto: Sikhs and Ismallis," Ph.D. Dissertation University of Colorado, 1974; Yogendra Malik, East Indians in Trinidad, (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

4
A similar trend is suggested among the Chinese-Americans. See H. Mark Lai, "Chinese Politics of the U.S. Chinese Communities," in Emma Gee (ed.), Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian Americans (Los Angeles: Asian-American Studies Center, 1976).

5
The professionals from India who have migrated to Australia ofter the relaxation in Australian Immigration Policy are somewhat comparable to the Indians in the United States. A preliminary analysis of the Indians in Sydney may be seen in Janice Monk, "Residential Patterns of Asian Immigrants in Sydney," a paper presented at 1977 Annual Meeting of the American Association of Geographers, April 25, 1977, Salt Lake City.

6
Mahendra Doshi, Who is Who Among Indians in North America (1975).

7 The first official record of the arrivals of Indians (known as East Indians) in the United States indicates that fifteen such people were admitted for immigration in the year 1899.

Source: Jogesh Misrow, East Indian Immigrants on the Pacific Coast (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1971), p. 11.

8 For an evaluation of the U.S. Immigration Policies see S. M. Tomasi and C. B. Kelly, Whom We Have Welcomed (Staten Island: Center for Migration Studies, 1975).

9 Ibid.

10 Professor Bruce L. Brach has documented the nature of East Indian Experience in the United States in his forthcoming work. See Bruce L. Brach, "The East Indian Experience in America," in Asians in North America: An Annotated Bibliography (Davis: University of California at Davis) (forthcoming). Also see Agnes F. Buchanan, "The West and the Hindu Invasion," Overland Monthly, November 1907, pp. ; Fred Lockley, "The Hindu Invasion," The Pacific Monthly, May 1907, pp. 584-595; Herman Scheffauer, "Tide of Turbans," Forum, June 1910, pp. 616-618; "The Hindu: The Filth of Asia," The White Man, August 1910, pp. ; "Hindus too Brunette to Vote Here," Literary Digest, March 10, 1923, p. 13.

11 Gary Hess, "The Forgotten Asian Americans: The East Indian Community in the United States," in Akira Iriya (ed.), The Asian American (Santa Barbara: American Bibliographic Center, 1976).

12 Most works on Overseas Indians in the United States do not deal with the political dimensions. For example see the following works: George Coelho, Changing Images of America: A Study of Indian Students' Perceptions, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1958); Richard Lambert and Marvin Bressler, Indian Students on an American Campus, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958); Alan Katz, "Changing Indian Students' Perceptions of the Indian Government," Asian Survey, March 1977, pp. 264-274; Gurbachan Paul, "The Stay on Return Decisions of Indian Students: A Special case of International Migration," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oregon, 1972; John Niland, The Asian Engineering Brain Drain, (Lexington: Heath, 1970); Tai K. Oh, The Asian Brain Drain, (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1977); Rajnikant Gandhi, "Little India: Localism and Cosmopolitanism in an Indian Student Colony," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1967; Jaya Thadani, "Indians in Washington," Illustrated Weekly

of India, August 5, 1973, pp. 47-49; Khalid Shah, "Indians in New York," Illustrated Weekly of India, April 22, 1973, pp. 19-22; M. V. Kamath, "Puja, Pantsuit and Lata Mangheskar," Times of India, 1977, p. ; Parmathma Saran, "Cosmopolitans from India," Society, Sept/Oct. 1977.

13 The term "Political Culture," has been operationalized in many ways in Political Science literature. For example see Lucian Pye and Sydney Verba, Political Culture and Political Development (Princeton University Press, 1965.

14 This inference is based on an overview of Overseas Indian Press in the United States. Some of the Indian Newspapers analyzed were as follows: India Abroad (New York), India Times (Chicago), and India Express (Washington, D.C.).

15 Some examples of these writings are as follows: Ouseph Varkey, "One Vote of Confidence in Indira Gandhi," India Abroad, March 18, 1977, p. 2,9; Baidya N. Verma, "The Election Holds Out Many Opportunities," India Abroad, February 25, 1977, p. 2,8; Chandra Mehra, "The Ultimate Winner Will Be Democracy," India Abroad, March 21, 1977, p. 2; Moni Nag, "Sterlization Issue," India Abroad, June 10, 1977, p. 10.

16 "Indians for Democracy," was an organization of Indians that emerged in the United States during the Emergency.

17 Some of the following are indicative of the nature of such debate among the Indians in the United States: A. S. Abraham, "Prospects for the New Year: Janata Party's loss of Innocence," India Times, January 13, 1978, p. 2.

18 Baidyanath Verma, "A New Agenda for India," The Indic, June/July, 1977, pp. 8-9.

19 For example "Indians for Democracy."

20 Some of the famous Overseas Indians whose passports were impounded include Shrikumar Poddar, S. R. Hiremath, and Sharan Naudi.

21 This author examines the relevance of Overseas Indians to Indian public policy in a forthcoming paper titled "Overseas Indians and Political Change in India," a paper to be presented at 1978 Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, New York, 1978.

22 Mahendra Doshi, Who is Who Among Indians in North America (New York: Who is Who Among Indians, 1975).

23 It is clearly suggestive of an elitist profile.

24 A study of the party identification among Indian students may be seen in this author's "Party Identification and Orientations Toward Politicians," International Behavioral Scientist, Sept. 1977.

25 Scholarly evaluation of the emergency rule of Mrs. Gandhi may be seen in the following works: Normal Palmer, "The Crisis of Democracy in India," Orbis, Summer 1975; W. H. Morris-Jones, "Creeping but uneasy Authoritarianism: India 1975-76," Government and Opposition, Winter 1977, pp. 20-41; Rajani Kothari, "Restoring India's Political Process," Virginia Quarterly Review, Winter 1977, pp. 1-16; Marcus Franda, "Slogans of Indian Emergency," American University Field Staff Report, Vol. 20, No. 11, 1977, pp. 1-9.

26 Janata Government has promised to undo certain constitutional changes brought about by Mrs. Gandhi.

27 J. Michael Mahar, (ed.), The Untouchables in Contemporary India (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1972).

28 The Overseas Indians press has also provided an opportunity to debate India's nuclear policy. This is indicated by the letter to the editor published in such newspapers.

29 Janata Government demonstrated 1000 rupee notes in December 1977, as a measure to check Black Money Circulation.

30 An analysis of the public policy orientations of these Overseas Indians in relation to the American political system, see Manindra K. Mohapatra, "Overseas Indians and American Public Policy Priorities: Policy Orientations of a New American Ethnic Minority," a paper prepared for presentation at 1978 Annual Meeting of Virginia Social Science Association, April 7-8, 1978.